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A. M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

39 Nassau street, New York.

THE DILEMMA.

Congress, by its own folly, is apparently as much at sea on the subject of reconstruction as at the opening of last session. The disastrous effect of the last session, now fetters the work attempted in this. After a prolonged debate, Mr. Stevens's enabling act has been recommitted. Good words have been spoken. No step forward has been taken. If the infamous Amendment, to which Mr. Stevens's enabling act was originally appended, could also be recommitted, and buried beyond the possibility of resurrection, we should be less inclined to complain. The equitable provisions of the enabling act, it was affirmed, would save the country from the acknowledged dangers inherent in the Amendment. But most of the Northern States, through the blindness, stupidity, or baseness of political leaders, stand ready to commit their Legislatures to the "swindle," while the protection proposed by Mr. Stevens is denied. We do not know what will next be proposed by Radical members, but the vote of the recommittee of Mr. Stevens's bill has a doubtful look for the future.

Two successive mornings this week, Presidential vetoes, of the usual type, have been served up to us. For everything in the way of impartial legislation involving the interests of the colored race in reconstruction, the veto is in store. With a President entitled by loyalty and personal fitness to the Executive chair, which Andrew Johnson loosed since ceased to be, the difficulties of reconstruction would doubtless be considerable. But they would not, as at present, be insurmountable. In view of the fact that a two-thirds vote is indispensable in both Houses, the disengagement which exists in the Reconstruction Committee is as much of a deadlock as that between the President and Congress as a whole.

Meanwhile, with or without his vetoes, Johnson is master of the situation. His so-called State governments are in full blast, loyalty throughout the South is proscribed, and red-handed traitors are reinstated in their old position as a ruling class. The blacks have not in many cases even the freedom to work. They are subject to innumerable outrages, are murdered by tens of thousands, while the auction block and whipping post, despite of Congress, Gen. Grant, and Civil Rights bills, are re-established as "legalized institutions."

Never had a body of men a more significant admonition from their constituents to go forward and meet the responsibilities of a great crisis by fulfilling the demands of justice and impartial freedom, than Congress in the elections of last Autumn. That the men have thus far proved themselves sadly unequal to their responsibilities, the condemnatory truthfulness of the eloquent appeal and statement of facts which we print in another column, from the true and tried Southern loyalists, is abundant evidence.

Another month of the present session remains. Again we urge, that the first thing for you to do, men of Congress, is to impeach and across Andrew Johnson. To this, or to an ignominious surrender, you will be forced at last. We warn you that to delay or postpone longer this nearest duty is fraught with many dangers. The rebel Chief should not be allowed by you, additional time to prepare and strengthen himself, in anticipation of future contingencies.

To tolerate in office at any time an incumbrant who has disgruntled, notoriously abused his trust, is unwise and demoralizing. To continue in office at this time, and in our present circumstances, a President who has become the terror of disloyalists, the recognized leader of traitors, and the champion of murderers, thieves, prostitutes and counterfeitors, is to deliberately expose the country again to the ravages of war, to offer a premium to rebellion, to gravitously perpetuate oppression and crime, and to put in jeopardy the experiment of free government.

FORWARD, THEN, TO IMPERIUM! Re-

construction onward.

REMEMBER, FIGHT ON!

REMEMBER, F

